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THE  
LIFE and DEATH  
OF  
CHARLES the First,  
WRITTEN  
By Dr. R. PERINCHIEF:  
Together with  
ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ  
REPRESENTING  
*His Sacred Majesty*  
IN HIS  
SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS.  
AND A  
VINDICATION  
Of the Same

King CHARLES the Martyr.

PROVING

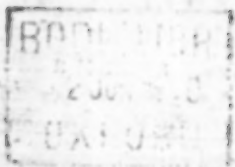
Him to be the Author of the said  
Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, against a Memorandum of the Late Earl of *Anglesey*, and against the Groundless Exceptions of *Dr. Walker* and others.

LONDON,

Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange. 1693.

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AND A





A  
VINDICATION  
O F  
King CHARLES I. &c.

**T**HIS of late is become a Controversie, and hath exercised several Pens: and the Province I have undertaken, is to digest the whole into as plain and familiar a Method as I am able, to represent the Exceptions fairly, and to answer them, to add to, illustrate and confirm what I conceive needs it, to sum up the Evidence on both sides, and to compare them, and to make such Remarks as plainly arise from the Respective Evidence; and by that time I have done this, it will, I presume, be very easie for the Reader to determine the Controversie, and to assign the true Author of this Book, and repudiate the false one, and Pretender.

In order to this, I shall in the first place consider a *Memorandum*, said to be written by my Lord of *Anglesey*, in a vacant Page of one of these Printed Books, which is in these words,

MEMORANDUM.

*King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York did both (in the last Session of Parliament 1675, when I shewed them in the Lords House, the written Copy of this Book, wherein are some Corrections, written with the late King Charles the First's own Hand) assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Doctor Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, which I here insert for the underscoring others in this Point, by attesting so much under my Hand: Anglesey.*

To this it hath already been answered, That both the said Kings have attested the contrary by their *Letters Patents* to Mr. *Royston*, granting him the sole Privilege to Print all the Works of King *Charles* the First. Those of King *Charles* the Second bear Date, Nov. 29. 1660, and expressly mention the Fidelity of Mr. *Royston* to King *Charles* the First, and to himself, and in these remarkable Words; *In Printing and Publishing many Messages and Papers of our said Blessed Father, especially those most excellent Discourses and Soliloquies, by the Name of εὐχὴν βασιλέως*. Those of King *James* bear date Febr. 22. 1685, and expressly refer to the first Edition of the King's Works, 1662, in which his Majesty declares, That *all the Works of his Royal Father were Collected and Published*. Now a Man would imagine, that there could not be any possible Dispute, which was to be prefer'd, a Publick and Authoritative Attestation of the Kings themselves, or a private *Memor*, by a third person. For the immediate Question here is not *Who was the Author of this Book?* But who was so in the Opinion and Judgment of those two Kings? And I would fain know, whether the Testimony of my Lord of *Anglesey* is a better proof of their Sense and Judgment, than their own Testimony; or a private, obscure, unattested, posthumous *Hand-writing*, a more valid Evidence, than the *Broad Seal*? And this, one would think, abundantly sufficient to determine this part of the Controversie, that is, that a Man's Word is to be taken for his own Sense and Opinion before that of his Neighbours, and that high and authoritative Evidence is always to carry the Cause in opposition to that which is no Evidence at all.

However (as clear as this is) Dr. *Walker* hath something to say to it, tho, I think, stranger Answers were never given in such a Case. And in the first place he tells us, *Page* 28. That good Manners rather than want of good Reasons restrain him from fuller answering: meaning, I presume, that these Kings did not speak truth, tho, he would not say so; and accordingly he says afterwards, *it was but conniving at a vulgar Error, which is was not their interest too nicely to discover*. Now this Answer plainly gives up the Cause it pretends to maintain; for if it was not their Interest to discover it, how came they both so frankly to tell it to my Lord of *Anglesey*? and as the *Memorandum* speaks, *they both did assure him, that it was none of the said King's Compiling*; and that, I think, is a little more than a nice Discovery, even a very plain and peremptory assurance. So that if this be an Answer to the *Letters Pa-*



*ments*, 'tis equally so to the Memorandum. And the same Interest, I suppose, which kept it a Secret from the whole Kingdom, would have kept it a Secret from my Lord of Arglesey too, especially considering that it was not only far more easy, but also far more honourable, to have concealed a matter of Fact within their Knowledge, than to have wrongfully attested it, and contrary to their Knowledge, under the Great Seal of England.

But notwithstanding that, Dr. Walker in further pursuit of this scandalous Answer tells us, that this is *Odium Argumentum*, designed not for real proof, but to involve the Answerer in some Odium or Danger, and which Respondents may dismiss unreplyed to, not because they cannot, but because they dare not answer it. Why, what was the matter? what Danger was there in reflecting on those two Kings, had the Doctor spoke out, and in express Terms declared his Mind? Was he afraid to be called to account, and punished for it? A Man that reads this would imagine, that the Doctor was a perfect Stranger in his own Country, and that he wrote his Book in some remote Corner of the World. But when he daily saw the vilest things spoke of those two Kings (especially one of them) that ever were said, not only of Kings, but of the worst of Men; when a great part of this pass'd into the World not by stealth or connivance, but under the Authority of a License, and in such seemed meritorious; in such a case to talk of *Odium*, and *Danger*, and *Fear*, is to scorn his Readers, and to suppose they had all lost their Senses. And therefore in plain terms the Doctor did not know how fairly to answer this, and created imaginary and invisible *Odiums* and *Dangers*, to get rid of an Argument he could not tell what to do with.

However, in the next place, the Doctor answers, That Kings use not so critically to inspect all the minute Particulars of their general Royal Grants. Meaning, no doubt, that the sixth *Sanctum* was such a minute Particular, as needed great Criticalness to find it out among the rest, whereas all the World knows what a mighty Figure that Book leaves among the renowned Works of that Glorious Martyr. And the Truth is, this Answer plainly insinuates, that those two Kings knew nothing at all of this Books being inserted among the rest of their Father's Works; and accordingly he tells us, that an Under-Secretary or Clerk, who drew the Patents, put in what Mr. Royston reckoned up, and desired; and never boggled at inserting it among King Charles's Works. Now this is such an

Answer, that to reply to it, would be as shameless as to urge it, and would equally reproach the Reader; for if the Doctor himself either did, or could suppose, or if any other Man can suppose, that these two Kings did not believe that this Book was inserted among the rest, nay, that they could possibly believe, but that it was design'd as a main and principal part, which for so many years bore their Father's Name, and was more known and taken notice of than any of the rest, it is high time to leave disputing, or to convince Men by rational Motives of Credibility: and let this hereafter go for a Rule, that the best way to gain belief, is to propound the most incredible things in the World. For if any Man, who knows the state of this Matter, the current Sense of this Kingdom, and the general Estimation concerning the Author of that Book, can believe, that these two Kings did not think, or could otherwise than think that it would be inserted among their Father's Works. That Man may believe any thing, and if he will take this for an Answer, there is nothing how impossible or incredible soever, but he may give his assent to. So that let it be granted, that Kings do not always critically examine the Transcript of their Royal Grants, except they neglected their Memories and Understandings, and left them also to *Under-Secretaries and Clerks*: it is not possible for any Man to believe, but that they knew that their Father was universally acknowledged and reputed for the Author of that Book, and consequently, that a Grant to Reprint his Works, must of necessity include that, altho it had not been particularly expressed in the Grant it self. But when this excellent Book is not only particularly expressed, but mentioned also with particular Characters and Marks of Recommendation, to talk of *Critical Inspection*, and of *Under-Secretaries and Clerks*, is to suppose, that *Under-Secretaries and Clerks* make Royal Grants, and not Kings themselves.

However, the Doctor adds, *What understanding Man believes all the other particular Pieces, which make up the whole Volume of the King's Works, to be originally penned by himself, but knows many of them were prepared by his Secretaries and Council, and then perused and approved of by him, and so became his, by adding the Royal Stamp of his Approbation, and owning of them; and the same was designed in this Book.* Very good, then

1. It seems Things prepared by Secretaries and Council become the King's, by his Perusal and approving them; and so I hope do Letters Patents too; and therefore let the Grants to Mr. Royston be drawn by what *Under-Secretary or Clerk* the Doctor

Doctor pleases, if they came to be the Acts of the respective Kings, by their *Perusal and Approbation of them*, then it is plain they testified their *Royal Father* was the Author of this Book, and so the Doctor both contradicts and confutes himself.

2. When the Doctor's Hand was in, I wonder he did not tell us, that the Papers of Mr. *Henderson* to the King, and the Particulars insisted on by the Parliaments Commissioners at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, were not originally penned by the King, and which are inserted in the Volume of the King's Works. And this would have been a plain Case, and must needs have been granted him. And what then? Why then by the Doctor's way of arguing, neither the King's Papers to Mr. *Henderson*, nor his Papers about *Episcopacy* were originally penned by him; or that because these two Kings did not believe, that these things inserted in the King's Works [as relating to them] which bear the Name of other Authors, were not of his own penning, therefore they believed, that the Writing which bears his own Name, was not penned by him neither, altho they mention it as written by himself. These are pleasant Consequences.

3. Be it granted that *Proclamations* and such things are originally penned by Secretaries, and become the King's, by adding his Royal Authority; what is this to *Books*? *Proclamations* are really the King's Acts, because they derive their Validity and Authority from Him, whoever pens them. But *Books* are quite of another nature; no *Royal Stamp* can make a *Book* the King's own, which he did not pen himself. And therefore these Attestations in the *Royal Grants* concerning the *Works* of the *Royal Martyr*, are to be understood according to the nature of things, that is, they attest the respective parts of that Volume were his Works, in that sense in which they were his *Works*. *Proclamations*, &c. were his by adding his Authority, and they were the same Acts of the King to all purposes of Law, whether penned by himself, or by his Secretaries. But a *Book* in no sense can be said to be the King's, of which he is not the Author. And therefore these two Kings attesting, that this *Book* was their *Royal Father's*, it plainly means, in that sense in which a *Book* is said to be so, and that is, not by adopting it by consent and approbation, but by penning and writing it. And it is a pleasant Consequence indeed, *Proclamations* are the King's by his consent and authority whoever pens them, and therefore *Books* that bear his Name are so too. Well! No body knows what a strange thing Reason is, when it falls into the Hands of some Men.

The Doctor still adds, *Admit Mr. Royston had obtained a Patent for the sole Printing the Works of King David, and had got it explicitly inserted, all the Works of King David, that is, the whole Book of Psalms, containing in number one hundred and fifty, would it have followed hence, that he who granted this Patent, had published to all the World that he knew and believed, that David was the real Penman of them all, tho some of them were certainly written some Ages after David's Death.* No truly, it would not have followed, nor does it follow from the Grant of these Kings to Reprint their Father's Works, that therefore they believed the King was the real Penman of Mr. Henderson's Papers. But (by the Doctor's good favour) this would have followed, that if King Solomon had granted a Patent to Collect or Print (had Printing been then in use) his Father's Psalms, and had expressly and especially mentioned three or four as his Fathers, it is plain, that he must be understood to believe, that these were penned by his Father.

Having thus dispatched Dr. Walker's Answers, I have yet something farther to observe concerning this *Memorandum*; and which seems sufficient to overthrow the Validity of it: and that which I shall observe is taken from the *Memorandum* itself. Intrinseck proof taken from things themselves is generally the most clear and convincing; Frauds and Impositions are seldom managed with such art and exactness, but a discerning Eye may easily discover them; and in this *Memorandum* there are some observable Circumstances that make it highly liable to suspicion, I mean, that it was never made by my Lord of Anglesey, but forged by some other person for the very ends for which it hath been so often produced; now if this *Memorandum* be defective in some Points, that are very material in a thing of this Nature, if it discovers a great faultiness, with respect to the very end for which it was pretended to be made, then it is apparently unworthy of the Prudence and Foresight of my Lord of Anglesey, and deserves to be ascribed to some other Author. For the proof of this, I shall take my measures from the last Words of the *Memorandum*, which plainly declare the end for which it was not made, nor sign'd by the said Lord. The Words are these: *Which I have insert for the undeceiving others in this Point, by attesting so much under my Hand.* Now here are these things observable, and which in every respect makes this *Memorandum* defective and insufficient for the attaining this end.

1. It bears no Date.

2. It

2. It is not attested by any Witness.
3. It was the most unlikely course to answer the ends of the *Memorandum* it self.
4. There is no appearance that this was said to any other Person.

1. It bears no Date, and that in a double respect.

1. With respect to the exact time when the King and the Duke gave the Lord of *Anglesey* this Assurance, It says indeed, *in the last Sessions of Parliament, 1675.* But this is expressed very ambiguously, and the Question is, whether by *last Session* the *Memorandum* means the last before the writing the *Memorandum*, or with respect to it, or the *last Sessions* of that year. If the *last* with respect to the writing of the *Memorandum*, then we are not directed by the *Memorandum* when that *Session* was; for it self having no Date, we have no possible means to know the time of that *Session*. And it is not only inaccurate upon all accounts, but abundantly faulty in a Testimonial of this Nature, to direct us to a determinate time, when such Words were spoken, and yet leave the World utterly in the dark; when that time was, *i. e.* in short, these Words were spoken no body knows when, and (as the Case stands) it is impossible they ever should know. *i. e.* 'Tis plainly a suspicious Evidence, as giving Testimony to a matter of Fact, without fixing any determinate time in which it was perform'd. But if the *Memorandum* had been more punctual in this particular, and had given a handle to have known what particular Sessions was meant; or if by the *last Session* is to be understood the *last* of that year. This is also liable to considerable Inconvenience, as being a space of time too large and loose, to found a competent Evidence upon, a *Session of Parliament* may continue five, six, or seven Months. And so we have a matter of Fact fastened to the compass of an hundred, two hundred, or more days. A pleasant Evidence indeed, and much to be relied on; every Man knows what great Weight there is in the Circumstance of time with respect to the Credibility of any Testimony. And if the compass be laid large and wide, it is an argument of great suspicion, especially if the Matter said to be done, was at no great distance from the time of giving this Evidence: if a Man within a year or sooner, should evidence in Court, that such a Fact was done in Parliament, during such a Session, and at the same time could not tell whether it was at the beginning, about the middle, or towards the latter end of that Session, and without being himself a Member of Parliament, and actually sitting. I would

would fain know whether this be not a juſt and reaſonable Prejudice againſt the competency of ſuch Evidence; now this *Memorandum* plainly labours under this Prejudice, and which is yet more, it can never be removed, becauſe there are no poſſible ways left to explain it, or to bring it into a narrower compaſs of time, as all unexceptionable Evidence ought to be; and therefore I ſhall leave it to the conſideration of all wiſe men, whether they can believe that a perſon of my Lord of *Angleſey's* Prudence and Caution would tranſmit to Poſterity, and with a deſign too to undeceive others, ſuch a *Memorandum* as is ſo palpably defective, and liable to juſt exception, in ſuch a material point as plainly relates to the validity of any Evidence; for this I take to be Demonſtration, that if my Lord of *Angleſey* had himſelf *in a voce* given all the words of this *Memorandum* in Evidence, and at the ſame time had not been able to answer the foregoing Questions, whether theſe Words of King *Charles* and his Royal Brother were ſpoken about the beginning, the middle, or the end of that Seſſion? If this had been a juſt Prejudice againſt ſuch Evidence given by my Lord of *Angleſey* himſelf, it is certainly much more ſo againſt a Paper pretended to be written and ſigned by him, which is guilty of the ſame defects. And I think no reaſon can be given that a Paper *Memorandum*, with the Name of my Lord of *Angleſey* to it, is a more valid and authentic Evidence, than my Lord of *Angleſey* himſelf would have been.

1. As this *Memorandum* gives us no determinate time when theſe Words were ſpoken, ſo likewise has it no date when the *Memorandum* it ſelf was written. And this is a fine Evidence indeed to determine Controverſies, and undeceive others with; for the matter pretended to be proved has a very looſe date, and for it ſelf hath no date at all, and both begins and ends like a fabulous ſtory with *once upon a time*. The truth is, this *Memorandum* is penn'd as if there was fear of having it diſprov'd; had the day been named when the King and the Duke of *York* had ſaid this, perhaps by ſome unlucky Circumſtance or other it might have appeared, that one or both of them together (which was very rare) were not at the houſe that day. Had the *Memorandum* been punctually dated, ſomething might have happened to have prov'd that my Lord of *Angleſey* was at that time travelling, or in the Country from his Study, or otherwiſe unlikely to have made ſuch a *Memorandum* at that time. And therefore it was far better to let dates alone as dangerous things, and apt to tell Tales. And to this may be added:

2. That

2. That this *Memorandum* is unattested by any Witness, and (as the Case stands) it is impossible it should be, except there were one or more Persons who saw my Lord of *Anglesey* write or sign it. Now I need not urge the necessity of *witness* to prove the signing of a *Memorandum* that pretends to correct the World, and to undeceive others, and that, upon the single Credit and Authority of that *Memorandum*; every man knows that an unattested Paper is no Evidence, and that a Man's Hand when he is dead, except it be well prov'd, signifies nothing at all, nor can have any effect: And the World must be very willing to be *undecieved* indeed, if they will alter their Judgments and Opinions upon that which neither is, nor ever was admitted to be any Evidence, nor sufficient to determine the least matter of Controversie. And therefore upon the whole, if my Lord of *Anglesey* had made this *Memorandum* for his own private use, it might have done well enough, because the defects of it might have been supply'd by his own Memory; but when it was design'd for the use of Posterity, to *undeceive* others when he was dead, to leave it so defective in all the necessary parts of Proof is irrational and unaccountable, and consequently is not to be ascrib'd to a person of his Lordships Character and Judgment, and great knowledge in the Laws: For my Lord (had he wrote this) could not but know that this matter would be disputed, and the *Memorandum* plainly implies it, and that nothing less than plain and unexceptionable Proof would convince the World; and at the same time to leave behind him a suspicious and invident *Memorandum*, which may create some Disputes but can end none, is unworthy of his Lordship, and ought not without manifest Proof to be father'd upon him. nor indeed can be without some reflection upon his Lordships Memory.

And therefore:

3. This was the most improbable, and unlikely course that could be taken to answer those ends mentioned in the *Memorandum*, (viz) to *undeceive others*: For (besides what hath been said before) what a pure Method is this to correct publick Mistakes, and to undeceive the World, to lodge a *Memorandum* in a vacant page of a Book, never to be seen till after his death; and then also liable to a thousand Contingencies, to be torn, to fall into private hands, to be neglected and never see the light: For I suppose his Lordship could never divine that his Study of Books would be sold by Auction, and that Mr. *Milington* would make the Sale. So that for any thing his Lordship either did or could know, the World might never have been *undeciv'd*; and it is an extraordinary caution indeed to take

pains to *undecieve* others, and at the same time leave them in a hopeful way never to be the better for it; had there been no other way, such a one as this must have shifted as well as it could, but when Men have Tongues in their Mouths, and may clear up mistakes by living and undoubted Testimony, to commit it to a bit of Paper, and that also laid up in darkness and obscurity, seems far from that Zeal to Truth which this *Memorandum* pretends to, and for which end it pretends to have been written: had my Lord of *Anglesey* (think we) no Friends, Acquaintance or Children to have communicated this to? And where, I wonder, is the Man who ever heard my Lord say this, or any thing like it? There can, as I know of, but one thing be said to this, and that is, that there might be some danger in so doing; and that this, tho it was not the securest, yet it was the safest way. But this is obviated by the *Memorandum* it self, which plainly intimates that the two Kings made no Secret of it themselves, nor injoyn'd him any Secresie, but frankly and freely assur'd him, which (as it is worded in the *Memorandum*) seems to express a design to have it spread and propagated; and therefore if the *Memorandum* be true, there could be no Reservedness and Caution upon that account, or fear of any Displeasure from the King or his Royal Brother. Now indeed it must be owned, that to rectifie Mistakes and to set the World right, is a generous and charitable Undertaking; but at the same time to neglect the direct and unexceptionable means to do this without reason and necessity, and to perform it in the dark, and expose it to manifest hazard and uncertainty, and after all to leave it without *Date* or *Witness*, so as in no degree to amount to a competent Evidence, in plain terms is to *deceive others* instead of *undecieving* them; and in truth the *Memorandum* is a Contradiction to itself, the End of it is express'd to be to *undecieve others*, and yet the *Memorandum* it self is the most unlikely course that could be taken to accomplish that End; and especially when there were several others far better at hand. Upon all which Accounts I do conclude, that this *Memorandum* was not made by my Lord of *Anglesey*, but by some other hand, to deceive and impose upon the World. And certain I am that whosoever insists upon this *Memorandum* is bound to do these two things: 1. To prove that this was my Lord of *Anglesey's* Hand-writing. And 2. To give a satisfactory Reason why my Lord of *Anglesey* forbore to declare this by Word of mouth; which the *Memorandum* intimates was so openly, and freely, and without any Reserve declared to him, and when it was by a thousand degrees more fit to answer the ends express'd in the

*Memorandum.*



*Memorandum.* And this hath not yet been attempted, and I presume can never fairly be done. And to this I add.

4. That there is no Appearance nor so much as Presumption, that the two Royal Brothers ever said this to any other Person. This I confess is a *Negative*, but I shall leave it with all the World, whether if this was their constant and standing judgment it is by any means probable, that they would not one time or other have declared the same to some other Persons, when they had done it with such openness and unreservedness to my Lord of *Anglesey*, and consequently that we should have heard of it from some other quarter, and in some better manner, than by such a blind *Memorandum*.

I have now done with this *Memorandum*, and do conceive, That I have vindicated the Memory of King *Charles I.* and his Right to this Book from any Exceptions that can be taken from thence: I shall therefore proceed to some further evidence to convince the unbiass'd and unprejudiced, that that glorious *Martyr* actually was, and that no other could be, the Author of it. Now whereas Evidence is of two Kinds; *external*, which relates to outward Testimony, and *internal*, which is drawn from the thing it self; both these are plain in the Case, and will sufficiently clear up the point before us.

1. *External Evidence*, i. e. the Testimony of other credible Witnesses to the truth of it: But that I may deal fairly, I shall sum up the evidence on both sides, and then leave it to the Readers Judgment; only I must premise, that King *Charles I.* being in possession, and for so many years reputed and acknowledged for the Author of this Book, whatsoever is offered to defeat his title to it ought to be very plain, clear, and satisfactory, and to overbalance the contrary Evidence in point of Credibility and Sufficiency: For an Equality of Evidence can never do it, because Possession preponderates, and will weigh down on that side, where all other circumstances are equal. But if the Evidence on that side be more in number, and as credible, if further there be no just exceptions to the Evidence on that side, as having no personal Bias, Partiality or Interest to sway them; and there be just exceptions to that of the other, there then can be no Dispute which will carry the Cause. And this I take to be the Case here, and which I conceive will plainly appear upon comparing the Evidence, with respect to the Claim of King *Charles* and Bishop *Gauden* to this Book. And to consider,

1. The Evidence that is produc'd for Bishop *Gauden's* being the Author of it, and that in truth is included in a very narrow compass, and it is all finally resolved into one single Evidence, and

and that Evidence is Bishop Gauden himself. And this will appear upon a fair examining the respective Evidence that hath yet appeared on this side of the Question: And they are these two,

*First*, The Attestation of Dr. Walker. And *Secondly*, the Evidence of some Papers now in the hands of Mr. North.

*First* The Attestation of Dr. Walker and what he says is this in short. 1. That Dr. Gauden sometime before the whole was finished acquainted him with his design, and shewed him the Heads of divers Chapters, and some of the Discourses written of them, and after some time spent in the perusal, he asked his Opinion concerning it; and he (Dr. Walker) told him he supposed it would be for the Kings Reputation, but he expressly added, he stuck at the Lawfulness of it, and asked him how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the world. To which he replied; Look on the Title, 'is the Pourtraiture, &c. and no man draws his own Picture, &c. That he explained to him a Passage in the second Chapter, and that he meant it of Dr. Juxton.

2. That being both in London, in an Afternoon Dr. Gauden asked him to walk with him to a friend, and in the going told him he was going to the Bishop of Salisbury Dr. Duppa, (whom he had acquainted with his design) to fetch what he had left with his Lordship to be perused, or to shew him what he had further written. That Dr. Gauden desired him after a general Conversation to withdraw, which he did, and that upon return he told him, that my Lord of Salisbury told him there were two Subjects more he wist'd he had thought on, and propounded them, the Ordinance against the Common Prayer, and the denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains, and desired him to write two Chapters upon them, which the Bishop recalled, and desired him to finish what remains and leave those two to him; and that Dr. Gauden did not pretend to have written those, as he did to have done all the rest.

3. Upon Dr. Walkers asking Dr. Gauden (after the King was murdered) whether the King had ever seen the Book, Dr. Gauden answered, I know it certainly no more than you, but I used my best Endeavours that he might, for I delivered a Copy of it to the Marquess of Hartford when he went to the streaty at the Isle of Wight, and intreated his Lordship if he could obtain any private Opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning it. But the violence which threatened the King hastning so fast, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the

the issue of sending it, for when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it by enquiry.

4. Dr. Walker asking him (And adds in a Parenthesis; For we seldom were in private but somewhat was discoursed of this Book, even to the last time I saw him, after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester elect) whether King Charles II. knew that he wrote it. He answered, I cannot positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me; but I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it as a seasonable and acceptable service; and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth.

5. Mrs. Gauden the Doctor's Wife, Mr. Gifford and Dr. Walker believed it as much as they could believe any thing, and were as much assured of it as 'tis possible they could be of any matter of fact.

6. Dr. Gauden delivered to him with his own hand what was last sent up, (after part was printed, or at least in Mr. Roylton's hand to be printed) and after he had shew'd it him and sealed it up, gave him caution to deliver it, which he did on Saturday, Decemb. 23. 48. in the Evening, according to direction, to one Peacock, (Brother to Dr. Gauden's Steward) who was instructed by what hands to deliver it to Mr. Roylton, and in the same manner after the Impression was finish'd he received six Books by the hand of Peacock as an acknowledgment, and one of them he hath still by him.

This is the Sum of Dr. Walker's Evidence in this matter, out of which I shall at present only observe,

1. That all that is material in this Evidence is resolved into the Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself, viz. That Dr. Gauden acquainted him with his design, that Dr. Gauden told him the Discourse of the Bishop of Salisbury, that Dr. Gauden told him he did not certainly know whether King Charles I. or King Charles II. knew that he wrote it, &c. The Validity of which I shall consider when I come to the next Evidence that appears in this matter.

2. That what seems to be otherwise is of no Validity at all, nor can have any force with a rational and wise man. And that because,

1. It only seems to be something more, but in truth it is not, it is express'd indeed as if Dr. Walker had given us ocular Testimony, that he had seen the Heads and some of the Discourses; but this is very defective in a necessary and material point, and does not come up to any strict Evidence; For altho he says that

that Dr. Gauden *showed him the Heads of divers Chapters and some of the Discourses written of them, and some time being spent in the perusal*, yet that which should make this a Proof, that they were written by Dr. Gauden, is altogether wanting; and that is, that they were written with Dr. Gauden's own hand. This, which is the only material thing, there is not the least word of, and which in a matter of this nature ought not, nor reasonably could be omitted. And I think it is plain, either that Dr. Walker could say nothing to this, or that he knew they were not written with Dr. Gauden's own hand, if the latter the Evidence is corrupt, if the former insignificant; and if there be any force in this part of the Evidence, it is not because Dr. Walker saw and perused the Heads and Discourses; for that he might do whether Dr. Gauden wrote them or not, but from these former Words, that Dr. Gauden *acquainted him with his Design*. And I take it to be very observable, that of that Evidence which hath yet appeared, there is not the least said that comes up to this point, that the original Manuscript was written by Dr. Gauden's own hand: which to me is a plain Evidence that it was never written by him; for if such a thing had been, Dr. Walker living (as he says) in Dr. Gauden's House, and being made so privy to it, and (as he says) perusing the Heads and some of the Discourses, and Mrs. Gauden (the Evidence of whose Papers I shall consider presently) must needs have known it; and I shall leave it to any considering man what value is to be put on such Evidence in such Circumstances, which pretends to prove that one Person is the Author of a Book in opposition to another more generally reputed Author, and at the same time never offers to prove, that that Book was written by himself, or by his immediate dictating, and direction. This sure is the direct Proof, and if it could be had, ought to have been produced, and the World must be very easie and credulous, if they will take the main point upon trust, and be put off with general Stories instead of that in which the Proof does consist. Is it possible for any man to believe that Mrs. Gauden did not know her Husband's Hand, or that Dr. Walker did not know it? Or further, that Dr. Walker, being so early acquainted with the Secret, should not know of the Progress made in that Work from time to time, or be able (upon Perusal) to discover some Interlinings or Alterations made by Dr. Gauden's own Hand; In short, did any man ever see Dr. Gauden write it, or proceed with it, or add to and amend it? These and more we have, as Evidence for King Charles's being the Author; and it is a pleasant business indeed that this plain and direct Evidence must

be confronted by Collections and Inferences, and bold Assertions, without any manner of Proof to the direct matter in Controversie. But this I shall further consider, when I come to compare the Evidence on both sides. In the mean time :

2. This Evidence Dr. Walker hath contradicted himself in another Testimony of his in the hands of Dr. Goodal, and given March 23. 1690. Where among others are these Words, *Dr. Walker and Mr. Gifford were both privy to these Affairs, living together in the Bishops House, though the Doctor is uncertain whether he ever read this Book in Manuscript, or only saw it with its Title of the Chapters* : which plainly crosses and thwarts his Evidence in his printed Book, in which he expressly attests, that *Dr. Gauden shew'd him the Heads of divers Chapters*, and that is not all ; but it follows, *and some of the Discourses written of them* : and if it had ended here, the Evidence might have agreed well enough ; but it still follows, *and after some time spent in the Perusal* : so that it seems Dr. Walker had read *some of the Discourses* at least, and that not transiently, but *after some time spent in the Perusal*. And in further Confirmation of this the Doctor adds, *And I perfectly remember, that in the second Chapter, which is of the Death of the Earl of Strafford, there being these Words ; which now in the Printed Book of the first Edition are* p. 8. l. 18, 19, 20. He only hath been least vext by them, who counselled me not to consent against the Vote of my own Conscience. And which (he says) *Dr. Gauden told him he meant is of Bishop Juxton*, so that here we have Dr. Walker not only perfectly remembering the subject matter of that Chapter, but also an intire Sentence, and a particular Explication relating to it. And this sure is not very consistent with his being uncertain, whether he ever read this Book in Manuscript, or only saw it with its Title of the Chapters. I need not reflect upon this, every man knows that when an Evidence interferes with himself, and contradicts his own Testimony, it renders the whole suspicious, and is a prejudice to all he delivers in that Cause ; and all I shall remark is, that Dr. Walker's Memory hath fail'd him in that very Case, wherein a good Memory is especially needful. And to shew the Reader what weight there is to be laid upon Dr. Walker's Memory or Confidence, He tells us, p. 8. *I am as sure as I can be of any thing, that Dr. Gauden made the extract out of this Book called Apothegmata Carolina*. And yet he is perfectly and notoriously mistaken ; for as Mr. Long says ( p. 8. ) not he but Dr. Hooker was the Collector and Publisher, who is now or lately was living in *Wills Lane Court against Virginia street in Wapping*. B The

The next Evidence in the behalf of Bishop Gauden, is taken out of some Papers, said to be in the Hands of Mr. *Arthur North*, Merchant, living on *Tower-Hill*; which Papers are said to be sent by Mrs. *Gauden*, the Bishop's Wife, to her Son Mr. *John Gauden*, after his death they came into the Hands of Mr. *Charles Gauden*, and after his death to Mr. *North*. A Summary of which is Printed in *Pag. 35. & seq.* of a Pamphlet intituled, *Truth brought to Light*, &c. and according to that Print, I shall briefly set down what seems the most to concern this Cause.

Amongst these Papers, there is said to be a Letter from the Bishop to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, dated December 28. 1661, and a Copy of a Petition to the King, written by the Bishop's own Hand. In which he declares what Hazards, &c. and what he had done for comforting and encouraging the King's Friends, &c. And that what was done like a King, should have a King-like Retribution, &c. Another Letter there is to the Duke of York, dated Jan. 17. 1661, urging his great Services, &c. As also a Letter from the Lord Chancellor Hyde to the Bishop, (of the Chancellor's Hand-writing) dated March 13. 1661, imparting the Receipt of several Letters from him, that he was uneasie under the Bishop's importunity. And towards the Close hath this Expression, *The Particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a Secret, I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a Secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton.* Now by all these Expressions, the Services the Bishop urges, the doing like a King, and the Secret that will please none but Mr. Milton, at the end of my Lord Chancellor's Letter, it is expected that we should understand the Writing, and being the Author of this Book. But what necessity is there for that? Were there no Services that Dr. *Gauden* had done besides? or at least, that he might plead, whether he had done them or not? was it not possible for Dr. *Gauden* to have, or pretended to have done like a King, *i. e.* freely and magnificently, (as that Scripture-Expression means in the Case of *Araunah*) but this single Instance? And was there no other Secret in the World but this, that the divulging of it would gratifie Mr. *Milton*? These therefore are mythical Expressions, and prove nothing, and the utmost that can be built upon them is Presumption and Conjecture, which are far too feeble to support that which is raised upon them. However, if this were supposed, and that such was the meaning of those Expressions, it will still be resolved into the single Testimony of Dr. *Gauden* himself, and how

how valid that Testimony is in this Case, we shall see presently. And in the mean time, this plainly contradicts Dr. Walker's Evidence, which is, that Dr. Gauden told him, that *He could not positively and certainly say, that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote the Book.* And it would look very ridiculous to present a Petition to that King, and to use it as an Instance to recommend him to his Favour, that in behalf of the Royal Family, *he had done like a King*, meaning, he had writ the Book, and at the same time not *know* whether that King knew he was the Author of it. But of this also more presently. In the mean time, as to Dr. Gauden's Services, and which possibly may be the Plea he made to the King, he did indeed write and publish two Books: the one *A Protestation against the King's Death*, Printed for Mr. Royston, 1648: and another proving the Non-obligation of the Covenant, which might put him into the King's Favour; and in truth, it is very probable, that the *Protestation* was the only thing Dr. Gauden was concerned in; and being Printed by Mr. Royston, and about the same time, might be the occasion of all this Mistake, and might be the Book he gave to the Marquess of Hertford, &c. if any such thing was ever done.

Among these Papers there is also said to be, *A Letter of Mrs. Gauden's, after the Death of her Husband, to her Son Mr. John Gauden, in which she speaks of the Book commonly called the King's Book, and calls it the Jewel, and adds, that her Husband hoped to make a Fortune by it, and wonders it should be doubted whether her Husband wrote it, but says, she has a Letter of a very great Man to clear it up.*

There is also (said to be) a long Narrative of Mrs. Gauden's Hand-writing, shewing, that her Husband wrote the Book, and sent to her Son with the Letter.

This Narrative sets forth, that after her Husband had wrote the Book, he shewed it to the Lord Capel, who approved it, and was for the Printing it, but wished the King might have a sight of it: that an opportunity was taken to convey it to his Majesty by the Lord Marquess of Hertford, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of Wight.

That the Marquess, after his return from thence, told her Husband, that he gave the Book to the King, and his Majesty did well like it, but was for putting it out, not as his own, but another's; but it being urged, that Cromwell, and others of the Army, having got a Reputation with the People for Pious and Piety, it would do best to be in the King's Name. His Majesty took time to consider of it.

That her Husband not bearing the King's Pleasure about it, and finding Dangers hastening on him, he having kept a Copy by him, sent it by one Mr. Simonds to the Press, together with a Letter, that Mr. Royston was the Printer, but did not know but the King wrote it; that Part was seized in the Press, together with her Husband's Letter, and Mr. Simonds was taken. That nevertheless the Work was carried on, and finished a few days after his Majesty's Death; that when it was Published the Parliament was enraged; and her Husband, conceiving his Life and Estate in danger, fled to Sir John Wentworth's, near Yarmouth, intending thence to pass the Seas, but Mr. Simonds falling sick, and dying, and her Husband not being discovered, he altered his purpose, and returned home.

That there was an Epistle first intended, that the first Title was *Suspiria Regalia*, but changed to *Icon Basilice*; and that there were two Chapters added.

That the Marquess of Hertford, the Lord Capel, Bishop Duppa, and Bishop Morley were at first the only persons privy to it.

That Bishop Duppa of Winchester being very sick, her Husband went to the King, and acquainted him, that he was the Author of the Book, and for the truth thereof appealed to Bishop Duppa, his Majesty's Tutor, who was yet living, and made an Apology for Printing it, without his Majesty's Father's Order, or his, but pleaded the Circumstance of Time, and the King's Danger; that his Majesty told her Husband, That till then he never knew that he wrote it, but thought it was his Father's, yet wondered how he could have time, and observed, that it was wrote like a Scholar, as well as like a King: and said, if it had been published sooner, it might have saved his Father's life, that at the same time the King gave him a Promise of the Bishoprick of Winchester.

That he afterwards acquainted the Duke of York, that he was the Author, &c. This is the Sum of the Evidence that is Collected from these Papers. And from hence I have these things to observe.

1. That this is all finally resolved into the single Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself, and of what Consideration that ought to be in the Case before us, will appear from these Particulars,

1. A Man's own Evidence in his own Cause labors under very great Prejudices; and as the Wisdom of all Lands exclude a Man from bearing witness for himself, so such Testimony can never



never be admitted to conclude and determine a Matter in Controversie in these two Cases.

1. When there is another Claim, and Pretender in possession of the thing in controversy, in such a Case a Man's own single Testimony signifies nothing, nor is of any Validity. The Book bears the Name of King *Charles*, and hath for many years been acknowledged to be his; and if Dr. *Gauden* should have said, That he was the Author, and not the King, it would not be sufficient to defeat the King's Title, nor to advance his own; Because a Man's own Testimony is incompetent to determine the Controversie between two Rival Authors; on the one side there is the Authority of the Book it self, which in every Line owns it self to be the King's, as speaking in his Name, and the general Reputation of the World consequent upon that. On the other is only the affirmation of another Pretender, who would claim it for his own, upon his own Evidence. For let this Evidence pass through never so many Channels, it is one and the same Evidence still; if one Man tells a hundred, that he did such a thing, and they all testify, that he said so, there are indeed a hundred Witnesses that he said it, but there is but one that he did, and that is himself; if therefore Dr. *Gauden* acquainted the King, the Duke of *Tork*, my Lord Chancellor, Mrs. *Gauden*, Dr. *Walker* and several others, that he wrote the Book, the Evidence to the Fact is still but one, and that is Dr. *Gauden* himself: or if Dr. *Gauden* told Mrs. *Gauden* and Dr. *Walker*, that he acquainted the Marquess of *Harford*, Bishop *Duppa*, the King, &c. Mrs. *Gauden* and Dr. *Walker* may be two distinct Witnesses that he said so, but there is but one that he did so, and that is himself. So that this whole Matter is resolved into his own Evidence, which in this Case is no Evidence at all, nor will any wise Man consider it as such: especially if to this be added,

2. If there be any Interest or Advantage to be reaped by it. In this Case a Man's own Testimony is always refused, because a Man is suspected as too partial to himself, and apt to be swayed by his Interests. And if we are to give any credit to these Papers, I am afraid Mrs. *Gauden* has revealed a great Secret when she saith, That her Husband hoped to make a Fortune by it. For if that was the end of his owning himself to be the Author, it hath too great a mixture of carnal Ingredients to gain much Credit; for if Men witness for themselves to advance their Ambition, and secular Designs, their Evidence is tainted, and favours of Project and Artifice, and Men always suspect on that Hand. And I am sorry to find, that these

very Papers insinuate too much of this very Temper to be in Dr. Gauden, in these two Instances;

1. They lay before us a very strange and immodest magnifying his own Merits, and particularly in that to King Charles the Second, writ by his own Hand, wherein he declares *what Hazards he had run of Life and Estate.* (And yet he kept one of the most considerable Livings in England all the time of the Usurpation.) *And what great Advantage had accrued to the Crown by his Service.* (And in his Letter to the Duke of York, he strongly urges the great Services he had done.) *That what was done like a King should have a King-like Retribution; and instances in the Cases of Joseph, Mordecai and Daniel, who were honored and rewarded for the Services they did to the respective Princes, and in particular observes, that Ahasuerus was uneasy, till Mordecai had had his merited Reward.* Now these are fine Characters indeed, and give a good account of Dr. Gauden's Performances, but they look a little scurvily coming from his own Mouth; had the Dr. never a Friend at Court? methinks my Lord of Warwick or Manchester, his known Friends and Patrons, or else my Lord Marquis of Hartford and Bishop Duppa might have sav'd him this Trouble, and so certainly they would, had they known by him such a thing as the writing the King's Book: but since the Dr. was forced to make use of himself, it seems pretty plain, that there was no Body else to imploy in this Matter, and that no Person about the King knew the Drs. Merits so well as himself. The Truth is, a Man that is clamorous in his own Praise, always looks suspiciously; and he that can break through all the Bounds of Modesty and Decency to magnifie his own Merits, may possibly not be very shy in straining at a point of Truth to make it good; Boasting always stands near Untruth, and treads on the very Heels of it. To this may be added,

2. An immoderate Desire of Reward, and undue Solicitation for it: thus these Papers represent him, as discontented with his preferment to the Bishoprick of Exeter, telling the King, that he had a *high Rack, but a low Manger*, altho there be several Bishopricks in England and Wales inferior to that in point of Revenue, and at that time possessed by Men of very great Worth and Virtue. Thus also he teaches the King to be grateful to him, by the respective Advancements of Joseph, Daniel, and Mordecai. Thus in the Letter to the Duke of York he importunately begs his Royal Highness to intercede for him with the King. And in the Lord Chancellor Hyde's Letter to him it is expressed, That he was *uneasy under the Bishop's importunity.*

*portunity.* These things plainly represent a very ambitious Temper, covetous of Preferment, hasty and patient in the pursuit of it; and when Men are under the power of such a Complexion, they do not generally manage themselves by nice and punctual Methods, and to be sure such a Man's Merits will lose nothing by his own telling them, nor himself any thing for want of asking. And the truth is, over-valuing our own Merits, and claiming those which are none of our own, differ very little in point of Modesty and Virtue; and he that can do one, in all probability, will not stick at the other, if he thinks it feasible to accomplish the ends he aims at. So that those who have published these Papers, have done but little Service to the Bishop's Memory, and as little to the Cause they pretend to maintain; for tho I do not from hence conclude, that the Bishop ever told King Charles, the Duke of York, or the Lord Chancellor, that he was the Author of this Book; yet if ever he did so, or to any others, I do conclude, that it being his own Cause, and for such Ends, and joyned with such a Temper, it apparently sinks the Credit of his own Testimony, and renders it of no value.

2. Another thing which would take off the Force of Dr. *Gauden's* Testimony in this Case, supposing he ever attested it, is the Immorality and Infamy of the whole Practice, which must be charged upon him upon such a supposition. And that is writing a Book in the King's Name, and therein personating him in the Acts of Piety, Devotion, and high point of Conscience, which, whatever the end might be, in the softest Language, is first inventing a Falshood, and then imposing it upon the World, and (as these Papers intimate) upon the King too, (for they plainly tell us he never had the King's Consent.) Had the Devotionary Part been Compos'd for the King's private Use and Assistance, the Attempt might have been dutiful and charitable, tho there had been no need for it, to a Prince who was so admirably qualified himself, and the King, if he had thought them suitable, might by them have express'd the Sence of his own Heart. But to give them to the World as the King's own, which he never fram'd nor us'd, nor so much as own'd, is to counterfeit the King's Conscience, which, as I take it, is a more audacious and far greater Crime, than to counterfeit his Coin, his Hand, or his great Seal; for such a Practice mocks God as well as Men, and daws and juggles in these very Cases, in which are required the greatest plainness and sincerity. And in all respects, to counterfeit Prayers, Repentance, Charity and other Graces, (abundantly express'd in that excellent Book) and to impose

impose them upon the World for true and genuine, is such a Piece of Forgery and Imposture, Fraud and Hypocrisie together, that no end can warrant, and nothing can parallel. And now if a Man had acted in such a manner, methinks he should have but little stomach to own it, or if he did, in the same breath he convicts himself of Falshood, and lays a Bar to his own Testimony; for 'tis obvious, that if a Man in such Circumstances can father his own Book upon the King, he may with the same truth and justice lay claim to the King's Book: and the pretence of *Good Ends* does not alter the Case, for no doubt a good Bishoprick may be thought a *Good End* too; and he that thinks the *King's Honor* will justify the acting *deceitfully* for him, may as well think his *own Honor* may justify the same measure for acting for himself. And what, I wonder, is such a Testimony worth in this Case, when the Testimony it self plainly declares, that he first abused the World, in giving them a Book for the King's, which was not his, and afterwards abused the King in taking great pains to assume it to himself. And the truth is, this Evidence (such as it is) confronts it self; for if *Dr. Gauden* was the Publisher of this Book (as these Papers represent) then he gave as publick an Evidence as was possible, that the King was the Author of it, and as much as any Man does who sets his Name to his own Works. And if he told *Mrs. Gauden*, *Dr. Walker*, or any other, that he himself was the Author, then he told them one thing, and the whole Kingdom another, which, at last, makes a fine Evidence of it, and very fit to determine the Controversie, which in the very Case contradicts it self; and it is impossible to reconcile *Dr. Gauden* the Publisher, to *Dr. Gauden* the private Relater. I must confess, I am heartily sorry, and afflicted, that I have said thus much concerning *Bishop Gauden*, considering both his Character and Station in the Church, and that he hath been long since dead. But those who have been so earnest to assert his Right to this Book, are to be thanked for it; for it is the very Character they have given him, and the very means they have used to prove his Title. And if the Memory of *King Charles* the First must stand in competition with the Memory of *Dr. Gauden*, I think there needs no Apology for doing Right to that King's Memory, tho it should reflect on *Bishop Gauden*, or a greater Subject than he. But this I have said only in supposition, that *Dr. Gauden* did in truth own himself to be the Author. But that which follows, I hope, will clear him from that Imputation, how severe soever those who plead his Cause, have been to his Memory. And that is

2. The second thing I have to observe from these Papers of Mrs. Gauden, which is, that they do, in direct Terms, and in notorious Instances contradict the Testimony of Dr. Walker. And to make this very plain, I shall set them opposite to one another in two Columns.

Doctor Walker, pag. 3.

Dr. Gauden some time after the King was murdered, upon my asking him whether He (the King) had ever seen the Book, gave me this Answer: I know it certainly no more than you, but I used my best Endeavours that he might; for I delivered a Copy of it to the Marquess of Hartford, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, and intreated his Lordship, if he could obtain any private opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning it. But the Violence which threatened the King, hastening so fast, he ventured to Print it, and never knew what was the Issue of sending it: for when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it by inquiry.

Dr. Walker, pag. 5.

I asking him (for we seldom were in private but somewhat was discoursed of this Book, even to the last time I saw him after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester elect) whether that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote it, he gave me this Answer; I cannot

Mrs. Gauden, pag. 37.

'An Opportunity was taken to convey (the Book) to his Majesty, by the Lord Marquess of Hartford, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of Wight: that the Marquess, after his return, told her Husband, that he gave the Book to the King, and his Majesty did well like it, but was for putting it out, not as his own, but as another. But it being urged, that Cromwell and others of the Army having got a great Reputation with the People for Parts and Piety, it would do best to be in the King's Name. His Majesty took time to consider of it.

Mrs. Gauden, pag. 38.

'Bishop Duppa of Winchester being very sick, her Husband went to the King, and acquainted him, that he was the Author of the Book; and for the truth thereof appealed to Bishop Duppa, his Majesty's Tutor, who was yet living, and made an Apology, *perpetua*,

*positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me; but I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure, the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and own'd it as a seasonable and acceptable service, and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth,*

*that if it had been published sooner, it might have sav'd his Father's Life! That at the same time the King gave him a Promotion of the Bishoprick of Winchester.*

*That he afterwards acquainted the Duke of York, &c. That her Husband then told his Highness, that the King promised him the Bishoprick of Winchester, and that his Highness assured him of his favour.*

And now, what an admirable Harmony and Agreement have we here? Such Evidence must needs be credited, they are so consistent with one another in their Stories. In Dr. Walker's Evidence Dr. Gauden did not certainly know, and no more than Dr. Walker himself, whether King Charles I. had ever seen the Book. But in Mrs. Gauden's Evidence, the Marquess of Hartford told him, that he gave the Book to the King. In Dr. Walker's, he never knew what was the Issue of sending it. But in Mrs. Gauden's, that the King liked it well, but was for putting it out, not as his own, &c. In Dr. Walker's, when the thing was done, he judg'd it not prudent to make further noise about it by enquiry. Nor need he, as Mrs. Gauden represents it, when the Marquess had told him already, and by such a remarkable circumstance; That Cromwell, &c. having got a great reputation with the People for Parts and Piety, it would do best to be in the King's Name; and his Majesty took time to consider of it.

In Dr. Walker's Evidence, Dr. Gauden could not positively and certainly say that King Charles II. knew that he wrote it. But in Mrs. Gauden's he told that King himself, that he was the Author of it, and appeal'd to Bishop Dappa for the truth of it. In Dr. Walker's he gave this as a Reason why he could not positively say it, viz. because the King was never pleased to take express notice of it to him. But in Mr. Gauden's

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the King took express notice of it to him; and told him that till then he never knew that he wrote it, but thought it had been his Father's, yet wondered how he could have time, &c. That, had it been published sooner it might have saved his Father's Life. And all this by a very good token; That, at the same time the King promised him the Bishoprick of Winchester. In Dr. Walker's he collects the King's knowing it by inference, and takes it for granted, because he is sure the Duke of York doth, and he knowing it, he does not question but the King also doth. But in Mrs. Gauden's; he acquainted the King himself; and not only so, but he acquainted the King first, and the Duke of York afterwards; as Mrs. Gauden expressly. That he afterwards acquainted the Duke, that he was the Author. And by the same token, That he then told his Highness, that the King promised him the Bishoprick of Winchester. So that if it had not been said so expressly, this telling the Duke must be subsequent to that Promise, which (as Mrs. Gauden says) was at the same time that he told the King. And lastly, In Dr. Walker's, the Reason of Dr. Gauden's Assurance that the Duke knew it, was, for that the Duke had spoken of it to him; but in Mrs. Gauden's. That he had acquainted the Duke himself.

And now, how like ye this my Matters? Is not this rare Evidence, to convince the World, that agrees at this rate? Do men use to believe a matter of fact upon the Credit of Witnesses who contradict each other? Methinks, the example of Daniel may serve to shew us the value of such Testimony, as well as to teach the King Gratitude: The two Elders were both positive as to the fact, but their differing in circumstance detected their Falsity. And the two Elders did not differ from one another, by many degrees, so much as Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden. In short, either Dr. Gauden told these things respectively to Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden, or he did not; if he did not, their Evidence is of no value; if he did, his own is of no value as contradicting himself.

And so I have done with this part of the Discourse, the Evidence that is produced to intitle Dr. Gauden to this Book. And I appeal to all the World, whether such Testimony so circumstantiated be fit, or ever was admitted, to determine the least Controversie in the World? And if there was no more to be said for the Kings being the true Author, but only the bare Name and general Acceptation, that is abundantly sufficient to vindicate it to him from all that is here offered; and no rational and unprejudiced man can alter his Sentiments, and translate it to Dr. Gauden upon such Evidence; and much

less if this be confronted by plain, direct and unexceptionable Evidence in behalf of the King. And this is the third thing, viz.

3. I shall produce the Evidence that hath appeared, to prove the King the Author of this Book; and altho there are some others, and which are of good Credit and may deserve Consideration, yet I shall confine my self to these, which are plain and direct, and come home to the very Case; a Testimony that plainly gives Evidence to the King's Title, and that Evidence unexceptionably convey'd to us: Some of these, and these the most considerable, are summ'd up by Sir William Dugdale, (in his *short view of the late troubles in England*, p. 380.) in these Words: 'I shall make it evident from the Testimony of very credible Persons yet living, that he had begun the penning of them long before he went from Oxford to the Scots. For the Manuscript it self, written with his own hand, being found in his Cabinet, which was taken at *Navesby Fight*, was restored to him after he was brought to *Hampton Court* by the hand of Major *Huntington*, thro the favour of General *Fairfax* of whom he obtain'd it, and that whilst he was in the *Isle of Wight*, it was there seen frequently by Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, who then waited on his Majesty in his Bedchamber; as also by Mr. *William Lever*, (a Page of the *Back Stairs*) the Title then prefixed to it being *Suspensio Regalia*, who not only read several Parts thereof, but saw the King divers times writing farther on it. A Id hereunto the Testimony of Mr. *Richard Royston* a Bookseller at the *Angel* in *Ivy Lane*; who having in these rebellious times adventured to Print divers of his Majesty's Declarations, Speeches and Messages; about the beginning of *October 1648*. (the King being then in the *Isle of Wight*) was sent to by his Majesty to prepare all things ready for the Printing some Papers, which he purposed shortly after to convey unto him, which was this very Copy brought to him on the 23<sup>d</sup>. of *December* next following, by one Mr. *Edward Simonds* a reverend Divine, who received it from Dr. *Bryan Duppa* then Bishop of *Salisbury*, and afterwards of *Winchester*. In the Printing whereof Mr. *Royston* made such speed, that it was finish'd before that dismal 30<sup>th</sup>. of *January*, that his Majesty's Life was taken away.

In this Summary are four considerable Evidences, Major *Huntington*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Lever*, and Mr. *Royston*; three of them directly to the thing, and Mr. *Royston's* so circumstantiated, as amounts very near to a direct Evidence.



1. Major *Huntington*. To this Dr. *Walker* excepts, (p. 33.) that at *Cambridge* the Major told him, that all he knew or ever said concerning it was, when that Book was published, and so confidently reported to be the Kings, then surely, or I believe these are the Papers I see him so usually take out of his Cabinet. But this was but my Conjecture and I never declared it to be otherwise; for I assure you I never read one Line or Word of the Papers in the King's hand; I was not so rude, and I cannot say there was one Passage in those Papers which is in this printed Book: For how should I, never having looked into them? Now this Evidence of Dr. *Walker*'s is confronted by another of Mr. *Rich. Duke*'s in a Letter to Dr. *Charles Goodd* June 15. 92. in these Words: Sir, I confess that I heard Major *Huntington* to say more than once, that whilst he guarded Charles I. at *Holmby-House* (as I remember) he saw several Chapters or Leaves of that great King's Meditations, lying on the Table, several Mornings; with a Pen and Ink, with which the King scratched out or blotted some Lines or Words of some of them: Upon which I must also confess, that I concluded they were originally from the King; but others have drawn a contrary Argument from the King's correcting the Papers, yet I put this under my hand, that the Major told me that he did suppose them originally from that learned Prince. Which is the totum that can be intimated, from, Sir,

Your humble Servant, Richard Duke.

In this Testimony of Mr. *Duke* these things are to be cleared.

1. That there is a difference between this account, and that of Sir *William Dugdale*'s. But notwithstanding both their Evidence are very consistent, and by no means contradictory. Sir *William Dugdale* says that Major *Huntington*, through the favour of *Fairfax*, restored to him the Manuscripts after *Navesby Fight*; Mr. *Duke* only says that the Major saw them lying on the Table &c. which the Major might very well do, and yet before that restore them to the King from General *Fairfax*; which as Mr. *Duke* says nothing of, so neither doth what he says any ways contradict; so that Mr. *Duke*'s Evidence is not contrary to Sir *William*'s, but a Supplement to it, and a further account of the Major's Knowledge of this matter: He testifies indeed more than Sir *William*, but by no means interferes with him. So likewise when Sir *William* says it was at *Hampton Court*, this is easily reconcil'd, because Mr. *Duke* speaks diffidently, that it was at *Holmby-House* as he remembers, but is not positive but it might be some other place, as these Expressions plainly denote.

2. The

2. The next thing is, that Mr. Duke does not say in express terms, that those Meditations, which the Major saw lying upon the Table several Mornings, and the King correct them; that those were the same that were printed in the King's name. But it is plainly imply'd, for Mr. Duke says, that from the Major's account to him he conceiv'd they were originally from the King, and is positive that the Major told him, that he suppos'd them originally from the King; that is plainly the *Meditations* in Controversie, for the Word *originally* here can refer to nothing else, but to another Pretender. And the saying that others have drawn a contrary Argument from the Kings correcting the Papers, yet further proves it. So that as Mr. Duke did not, so it is plain the Major himself did not mean any other Papers, than the original Manuscript of the King's Book or of some part of it, which he saw lie on the Table, and the King correcting it. The Sum therefore is, that the Testimony of Major Huntington, as it is represented by Mr. Duke, is contradictory to the same represented by Dr. Walker, and the Validity of the respective Testimony must depend on the Credit of the respective Witnesses. And how much Dr. Walker's Testimony is to be rely'd on in this Case I have shewn already; and Mr. Duke's Testimony is confirm'd by another; Mr. Cave Beck in a Letter to Dr. Hollingworth attesting;

Dr. Holl. Cherrill, of  
King Charles I. p. 17

That Major Huntington at Ipswich assured him, that so much of the said Book as contained his Majesty's Meditations before *Navosby Fight*, was taken in the King's Cabinet; and that Sir Thomas Fairfax deliver'd the said Papers unto him, and ordered him, to carry them to the King; and also told him that when he deliver'd them to the King, his Majesty appeared very joyful, and said he esteem'd them more than all the Jewels he had lost in the Cabinet.

3. The next Evidence is that of Mr. Herbert, afterwards Sir Thomas Herbert; who not only saw it, as Sir William Dugdale says, but moreover had the original Manuscript given him by the King, and which was wrote by the King's own hand. This hath never yet appeared publickly to the World, and therefore I shall set it down at large, as it was transmitted to me by the Reverend Mr. Cudworth Rector of Barnbrugh in Yorkshire, and attested by several worthy and learned Persons, in these Words:

In a Manuscript Book in Folio of Sir Thomas Herbert's well bound, fairly written, and consisting of 83 Pages, and by him called *Carolina Torenodia*, having the Picture of King Charles I. in the Front, and beginning thus:

SIR,

SIR,

"By yours of the 22d. of *August* last I find you have received  
 my former Letters of the 1<sup>st</sup>. and 13<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, 1678. And  
 seeing it is your further desire I should recollect what I can well  
 remember upon that sad Subject more at large, I am willing to  
 satisfy you therein so far forth as my Memory will assist. Some  
 short Notes of Occurrences I then took, which in this long  
 Interval of time and several Removes of my Family are either  
 lost, or so mislaid at present I cannot find, which renders this  
 Narrative not so methodical nor so large as otherwise I should,  
 and probably by you may be expected. Nor would I trouble  
 you much with what any other has writ, but in a summa-  
 ry way give you some Court Passages, which I observed du-  
 ring the two last years of his Majesty's Life and Reign; be-  
 ing the time of his Solitudes and Sufferings. — In pag. 21.  
 Nevertheless, both times he carefully observed his usual times  
 set apart for private Devotion, and for writing. Mr. *Harrington*  
 and Mr. *Herbert* continued waiting on his Majesty as Grooms  
 in the Bedchamber, he also gave Mr. *Herbert* the Charge of his  
 Books, of which the King had a Catalogue, and from time  
 to time had brought unto him such as from time to time he  
 was pleased to call for: The sacred Scripture was the Book he  
 most delighted in; read often in Bishop *Andrew's* Sermons,  
*Hooker's* Ecclesiastical Polity, Dr. *Hammond's* Works, *Vilal-*  
*landus* upon *Ezekiel*, &c. *Sandy's* Paraphrase upon King  
*David's* Psalms, *Herbert's* divine Poems; and also recreated  
 himself in reading *Gudfrey of Bulloigne* writ in Italian by  
*Torquato Tasso*, and done into English Heroick Verse by Mr. *Fair-*  
*fax*. A Poem his Majesty much commended, as he did *Ario-*  
*sto*, by Sir *John Harrington* a factious Poet, much esteem'd  
 of by Prince *Henry* his Master; *Spencer's* Fairy Queen and the  
 like, for alleviating his Spirits after serious Studies. And at  
 this time it was, (as is presumed) he compos'd his Book cal-  
 led *Suspensia Regalia* publish'd soon after his Death, and intitled,  
*The King's Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings*. Which  
 Manuscript Mr. *Herbert* found among those Books his Majesty  
 was graciously pleased to give him, (those excepted which  
 he bequeathed to his Children hereafter mentioned) in regard  
 Mr. *Herbert*, tho he did not see the King write that Book,  
 his Majesty being always private when he writ, and these his  
 Servants never coming into the Bedchamber when the King  
 was private until he call'd; yet comparing it with his Hand-  
 writing in other things, he found it so very like, as induces his  
 belief

'belief that it was his own; having seen much of the King's  
'Writings before. And to instance particulars, in that his Maje-  
'sty's Translation of Dr. *Sanderfon* the late Bishop of *Lincoln's*  
'Book *de juramentis*, a like Title, concerning Oaths, all of it  
'translated into English, and writ with his own hand, and  
'which in his Bedchamber he was pleased to shew his Servants,  
'Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert*, and commanding them to  
'examine it with the Original, they found it accurately transla-  
'ted.

This is a true Copy taken out of the original Manuscript,  
and compared by Us,



*Thomas Vincent.*

*Thomas Fountaine.*

*Ra. Eaton*, Rector of  
*Darfield.*

*J. Cudworth*, Rector of  
*Barnsbraugh.*

*Tho. Maulyverer*, Rector of  
*Spersbraugh.*

*Tho. Burton.*

*Jo. Newlome*, Rector of  
*Warmsworth.*

This Manuscript is now in the Hands of Sir *Thomas Harvey*  
of *Yorkshire*, who (as I think) married the Widow of Sir *Thomas*  
*Herbert*.

3. The next Evidence is Mr. *Lever*, who besides Sir *Willi-*  
*am Dugdale's* Testimony hath himself lately given an account of  
his Knowledge of this matter, in a Letter to *Seymour Bourman*  
Esq; in *Lincoln-Inn Fields*. In these Words:

Dear Brother,

'Yours of the 21. of this instant *April* I received, and one Let-  
'ter before that to the same effect, viz. To give a true account  
'of my Knowledge of that unparallel'd Book, which his sacred  
'Majesty of blessed Memory King *Charles I.* (murder'd by  
'his own rebellious Subjects before his own Palace at *Whitehall*,  
'with all the violent and malicious Circumstances that wicked  
'men could invent) which Book of my certain Knowledge  
'I can depose was truly his own, having observed his Maje-  
'sty oftentimes writing his Royal Repentments of the bold  
'and insolent Behaviour of his Soldiers, (his rebellious Sub-  
'jects) when they had him in their Custody. I waited on  
'his Majesty as Page of the Bedchamber in ordinary, during all  
'the time of his Solitudes (except when I was forced from  
'him)

him) and especially being nominated by his Majesty to be one of his Servants, among others that should attend him, during the Treaty at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, had the Happiness to read the same oftentimes in Manuscript, under his Majesty's own hand, being pleased to leave it in the Window in his own Bedchamber, where I was always oblig'd to attend his Majesty's coming thither. But the Treaty being ended in few days after, the Soldiers with one to conduct them, by name Mr. *Anthony Mildmay*, then Cup-bearer, came to the Bedchamber about Two of the Clock in the night, and knock'd at the dore, and one Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Kirk*, and my self, having some hint of their Intentions, were watching in an inner room, and hearing some noise, went into his Majesty's Bedchamber, and asked who they were that durst disturb his Majesty at that unreasonable time of the night; who answered, they were sent to tell the King he must rise, and go with them. We acquainting his Majesty with their design, he was pleased to command us to tell them, he would go with them, but it was not his usual hour to rise so soon; we again acquainted the Soldiers with his Majesty's Answer: They instead of complying with his Majesty bid us tell him, if he did not rise presently, they must force him to it: His Majesty only said, if I must give me my Clothes, and so he immediately arose. (Here ye may observe a mirror of Patience in a distressed Prince); during the time of his Majesty's making himself ready, he concern'd himself only how to secure this Book of his, and a small Cabinet, wherein he secured his Letters to his Queen, who was then beyond the Sea; and his Majesty having procured a Pass for me from the Governour, that I should wait on him there, he gave me in charge this said Book and small Cabinet, which I faithfully presented to his Majesty's own hands that night in *Hurst Castle*. But the Governour, by what Information is too tedious to insert here, at this time, and therefore I omit it, did on *Saturday* banish me out of the Castle.

I should have sent you a Relation which I had of *Rayston* the King's Printer, for the Printing the said Book, by his Majesty's special Command, brought to him by a Divine, but not to be Printed till after the King's Death, which he observed accordingly; for which *Cromwell* sent for him to *Whitehall*, not only promising Rewards, but also threatening Punishments, if he would not deny, that he Printed it by his Majesty's Order, which he refusing to do, did imprison him for about

By Printed &c.  
to be understood  
published.

a Fortnight, but seeing he could not work upon him, released him, which is all at present from

From Savernack Parke,  
near M rieborough,  
Apr. 29. 1691.

Your Affectionate Brother  
so serve you,  
William Levett.

To this Dr. Walker answers, (Pag. 34.) There is no such Chapter or Title in all *ΕΙΧΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ*, meaning, as the Royal Resentments of the bold and insolent Behaviour of his Soldiers (his rebellious Subjects.) Very right, Sir, but there is the thing; and Mr. Levett did not say that was the Title to any Chapter in that Book, or a Title to what he saw the King write, but the Subject Matter of it; and that it is of more Chapters than one. In the mean time it is very pleasant, when a Man testifies, that he will depose, the Book was the King's own, for that he had observed the King writing his Royal Resentments, &c. to answer there is no such Chapter or Title. But I pray, Sir, are there in that Book no Royal Resentments of the insolent Behaviour of the Rebellious Soldiers? If there be none indeed, then Mr. Levett could not conclude they were part of the Book, tho he saw the King write them; but if there be, 'Tis extremely ridiculous to say, there is no such Chapter, or no such Title; the Force of this Testimony therefore, is not about the Title, but the thing, and that Mr. Levett could depose that the Book was the King's, and that he read the same in Manuscript under the King's own Hand. And what does Dr. Walker say to this? why truly he says, I must beg his pardon so believe he is mistaken. And so it seems Mr. Levett's deposing, and seeing the King write some of it, and reading it under the King's own Hand is all confuted, and it neither is, nor can be so, because Dr. Walker begs his pardon. This is an excellent way of defeating the Force of an Evidence, and taking off the Edge of the Testimony of an Eye-witness; and if this will do, Dr. Walker must needs gain the Cause; for there is no doubt but he will beg the pardon of all the King's Witnesses, if he can so easily quit his Hands of them. In the mean time, that Mr. Levett was not mistaken, but delivered his Knowledge of this Matter, we have confirmed by another Testimony of his, and of another Date, in the possession of his Son, Fellow of Exeter College in Oxon. in these Words: If any one has a desire to know the true Author of a Book intitled *ΕΙΧΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ*, I, one of the Servants of King Charles the First in his Bed-chamber,

Dr. Hollingw.  
Charact. of  
King Charles.  
pag. 9.

chamber, do declare, when his said Majesty was Prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that I read over the above-mentioned Book (which was long before the said Book was Printed) in his Bed-chamber, writ with his Majesty's own Hand, with several Interlinings. Moreover his Majesty King Charles I. told me, Sure, Levett, you do design to get this Book by heart: having often seen me reading of it. I can testifie also, that Roylston the Printer told me that he was imprisoned by Oliver Cromwell the Protector, because he would not declare, that King Charles I. was not the Author of the said Book. Signed and sealed October 16. 1690.

Will. Levett.

4. The next Evidence is that of Mr. Roylston, which contains very material Circumstances viz. That the October before, the King sent a Message to him to prepare all things ready for the Printing some Papers, which he purposed shortly after to convey to him, and which was this very Copy brought the Twenty third of December next following. This is very near to a direct Evidence; and the King's sending to him to prepare himself, and this Book being sent to him accordingly, is a plain proof that these were the Papers the King designed to send him, and the King had intentions of Printing them in October, which it seems, according to Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden was before he had seen them, or heard any thing of them. I shall not need to add any more to this, but that this Testimony of Mr. Roylston is corroborated by two others, as Mr. Thomas Milbourn, Printer by Jewin-street, who told Dr. Hollingworth before sufficient Witnesses: That in the Year 48 he was an Apprentice to Mr. John Griffman a Printer, when Mr. Simonds, by Mr. Roylston, sent the King's Book to be Printed, and that his Master did Print it. That Mr. Simonds always had the Name of sending it to the Press, that it came to them as from the King, and they understood it no otherwise; that they had Printed several other things with C. R. to them, and that it looked to them like the same Hand, and the same sort of Paper with others that were so marked, and looked upon as the King's Papers; for the King kept the Original by him, and Mr. Odert the Secretary transcrib'd them. To the same purpose Mr. Clifford, Reader of Prayers at Serjeants Inn in Fleet-street, who assisted Mr. Milbourn in the Printing it: and who further adds, That the King intimated his Book the Royal Plea, but Doctor Jeremiah Taylor coming accidentally

Dr. Hollingworth's  
Defence of King  
Charles I. pag. 12  
13, 14.

cidentally to Mr. Royston's Shop, he having an assured Confidence in him, shewed him the first Proof from the Press, which when the Doctor viewed under that Title, he told him the Title would betray the Book ——— That Dr. Taylor wrote to the King, to let him know it would be in danger of suppressing by two Informers, Cheltenham and Jones, who would understand the Book by the Title. And therefore he thought *ΕΙΣΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ* would be a better Title, and lest taken notice of by the Informers, being Greek, and agreeing with the Title of his Father's Book, called *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΔΟΥΛΙΑ*; and to which the King consented. ——— And adds further, That he never heard, nay, that he is sure, that Dr. Gauden never was concerned in that Book by which Milbourn and himself Printed it, and that they had no part of the Copy from Dr. Walker, for it was that transcribed by Mr. Odert they Printed it by.

To these Testimonies cited by Sir William Dugdale, and in this manner strengthened and confirmed, we may add,

1. The Testimony of Doctor Gauden himself, when Bishop of Exeter, and attested by Mr. Long, Prebendary of the Church of Exeter, viz. That he had heard him often affirm, that he was fully convinced, that the *ΕΙΣΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ* was intirely that King's Work. This, I confess, is not a direct Proof to the Matter, but it is full against Dr. Gauden; for if he was fully convinced, that it was intirely the King's Work, he would himself never pretend to have any hand in the Composition of it.

2. The Testimony of two Authors of two Books, and both of them Printed 1649, whose Names I know not, tho possibly by the Titles of their respective Books they may be known to some other persons.

The first is certainly a person of Worth and Learning, and the Title his Book bears, is *ΕΙΣΟΥ Η ΜΕΝ*, written in answer to a scurrilous Pamphlet against the King's Book, intituled *ΕΙΣΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ*, in which the Author ( pag. 4. ) hath these Words: *The Author might have informed himself of divers, who have seen the Original Copy, manuscibed by the King himself, he might have seen it himself for asking. ——— And afterwards, I take it to be the King's Book, I am sure of it, I knew his Hand, I have seen the Manuscript, I have heard him own it.* These are plain and express, and if the Author was known, I doubt not but his Person would give Value to his Testimony, for his Writings plainly shew him a great Man, and of excellent Qualifications.



The other is the Author of a Book called the *Princely Pellican*, written on purpose (as the Title Page asserts) to satirise the Kingdom, that the King was the Author of this Book. And the Account the Author gives of himself is this, (Pag. 1.) that he had been a constant Servant to the King, and that he had remained constantly in his attendance upon his Majesty to the last Man, that the King was oft times pleased to communicate his private Councils and Addresses to him. And after having given this Account of himself, he proceeds to give Account of the Book, and in the first place tells us the very Beginning of the King's Resolutions to undertake it. (Pag. 4.) That he was pleased some few days after he had retired from his Parliament, to communicate his Thoughts in his Garden at Theobalds to some of his Gentlemen who were nearest to him, and of whose Intimacy and Abilities he stood most confident, how he had set his hand to Paper to vindicate his Innocency, in the first place, by shewing the Reasons he had of receding from the Parliament. And that not so much as one Line had fallen from his Pen, which with Honor he might not confirm. The Author goes on, His next Essay, as he told us, he intended should take its Discourse from the faithfullest Servant, and incomparable States-man that any Prince could rely on, meaning the Earl of Strafford, and then gives us the King's particular Discourse, condemning himself for suffering his Hand to thwart the Resolution of his Heart, &c. And particularly recites at large the Discourses of his Attendance on that Subject with his Majesty. He tells us further, (Pag. 19.) that the King told them, That as his Morning Devotions took up the first, so he ever reserved the next for these Meditations he had now in hand. The Author yet further tells us, (Pag. 21.) That at Naseby, those Divine Meditations were seized by the Enemy, with other Papers of Concern, being inclosed in a Cabinet reserved for that purpose: and that by the Benignity of the Conqueror, or Divine Providence rather, it was recovered above all expectation, and returned to his Majesty's Hand; and which infinitely cheered him. And further (Pag. 22.) That a Person of high Command in that Army gave this Censure of it, saying, It was an handsome Piece of Hypocrisie. There are several other observable Passages in this Author too long to transcribe. And I heartily wish, we could recover the Author's Name. In the mean time, the Testimony which he gives does so agree with the thing it self, and so concur in some Particulars, with the other Evidence before-mentioned, particularly the fixing the King's

Book ( so much of it as was then done ) at *Naseby-Fight*, and the Recovery of it again, and the great Joy the King had on the receiving it: that they plainly corroborate each other, and there can be no possible reason to doubt the Truth and Sincerity of such Evidence. which at divers times, and upon several Occasions, give the same Testimony, and in the same Circumstances.

These are some of the Evidences which prove King *Charles* the First to be the sole Author of this Book, and which, I conceive, are so plain, full and clear, that it is impossible to avoid the Force of them, or without great obstinacy, not to be convinced by them. For, I think, there is very little need to bestow much pains in comparing the Evidence on both sides, and to shew which preponderates, and ought to determine us in a matter of this Nature. On the one side we have but one single Evidence ( if we have that ) to the direct Matter, and that is the Person himself about whom is the Controversie, and him also under the presumption of Advantage and Interest. And on the other we have several credible and unexceptionable and disinterested Witnesses, who neither had, nor could have any personal Advantage from the Evidence they give. On the one side we have two Witnesses giving their Testimony by Hearsay and Report, that they heard the pretended Author say so, &c. on the other we have far more for weight and number, declaring their proper knowledge of the Matter of Fact. On the one side neither of the two Witnesses come home to the direct Matter, or positively assert they saw *Dr. Gauden* write it, or dictate it, or saw it in his own Hand-writing, or any thing like it. But on the other, the direct contrary, some attesting they saw the King writing some part of it; others saw it in his own Hand-writing, and which they knew; and one, that he had the original Manuscript it self in possession, and given him by the King. On the one side we have one of the two Witnesses contradicting himself, and both contradicting each other in very important parts of their Evidence. On the other all agreeing, not only in the main Fact, but in several Circumstances, and in all the material Branches of their respective Testimony. And now, if Evidence must carry it ( and I know no reason to the contrary ) it is plain, that all the Advantage is on the King's side, and there is no manner of comparison between them. And sure 'tis very easie to judge on which side the Right lies, when plain, positive, direct and unexceptionable Proof, is opposed only by intangled, indirect, contradictory Evidence, full of Inconsistency.

I have

I have now done with the first thing proposed, the *external Evidence*, proving the King to be the Author, and proceed to the next, viz.

2. The *intrinsic Evidence*, which arises from the Book it self: and if all the Testimony for King *Charles's* being the Author was set aside, this would be abundantly sufficient to determine the Matter, and would far over-balance all that has been said in behalf of Dr. *Gauden*, and ten times as much more. The Truth is, the Book discovers its own Author, and there is not a Line nor a Sentence but plainly owns the King's Hand, and as plainly confutes all the pretences for Dr. *Gauden*. But this inapropious Argument, and to manage it fully, would require a larger Book than that in Controversie. And therefore I shall confine my self, and speak briefly to these Particulars.

1. The General Stile.

2. The Historical Part of it.

3. Some Particulars of the Subject Matter of it.

1. The General Stile: By this I do not only mean the Phrase and Expression, but, together with that, the manner of Management; and to this I add, the great Weight of the Matter: all these are very great and Majestick, not only like a King, but like that very King to whom they are ascribed; and let any Man compare this Book with other the Works of this glorious Martyr, and he cannot but see the same generous and free Expression, the same Clearness of Reason, the same Greatness of Mind; in short, the same Majesty throughout. But for the Works of Dr. *Gauden*, there is nothing in the World more unlike; a luscious Stile, stuffed with gawdy Metaphors, and fancy far more Expression than Matter, a sort of noisy and Romantic Eloquence. These are the Ornaments of Dr. *Gauden's* Writings; and differ as much from the Gravity and Majesty of the King's Book, as Tawdriness does from a Genteel and Accomplish'd Dress. The Truth is, of all the Authors of that Age, there is scarcely any Writings are more light and thin, than those of Dr. *Gauden*; and let any Man compare the best of Dr. *Gauden's* Writings with this Book, and do it with Judgment and Discretion, and I dare say, he will be perfectly cured, and he can no more believe, that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of it, than he can believe, that the King's Picture at *Whitehall*, and that upon a Sign-Post, were both drawn by the same Hand. I know Mr. *Walker* talks fine things of a Man's changing his Stile, and differing from himself. (P. 25.) But when all the Pieces put out in a Man's own Name shall be loose, forc'd, stiff, and elaborate, and one single one put out in the Name of

another, incomparably great and excellent. This is such a Change, as I believe, no Man is capable of, and no Man can give account for. The Force of this therefore does not lie only in the difference of Stile and Expression, but in that total Dissimilarity that is between them in every thing; for tho a Man may vary his Stile, ( which yet Dr. Gauden, by the several Subjects he hath writ on, hath given no reason to think that he had a Talent that way ) yet he cannot be Master of better and finer Thoughts when he pleases, or if he could, to be sure, we should see something of them, or at least, something like them in the Works which wear his Name, and by which he design'd to communicate himself to the present Age and his Memory to Posterity. Let a Man therefore who hath any Understanding in these things, compare this admirable Book with the genuine Works of Dr. Gauden his *Sermons*, his Speech in the *Lords House* against the *Quakers*, and his other Tracts, and then let him believe they have all the same Author if he can. This is so clear and convincing, that nothing ought, nothing can defeat it, but the most plain and invincible Proofs. He that says, that Dr. Gauden is the Author of the King's Book, lies only under this one Disadvantage, that he says what is incredible in the nature of things, and according to the common Rules of judging. And if ever he expects to convince reasonable Men, he must produce such Evidence, so clear, full, and without Exception, and of such undoubted Veracity, and Authority, as Men may resign up their Judgments and Reasons to the Testimony. In short, there was in that Age, and in the Reign of that Pious Prince many Great and Learned Men in all Faculties, ( and without any disparagement to him, or to his Memory ) in all respects far superior to Dr. Gauden. And yet, I believe, any Man who will carefully, and with attention peruse this Book, and impartially judge when he hath done, he will conclude, that no Subject the King had was able to write this Book, and none less qualified for it than Dr. Gauden.

#### 2. The Historical Part of it.

And here I shall not need to observe, that this excellent Book contains the most remarkable Passages of State from 41 to the middle of 48, and that not only the outward Shell, or the meer Facts, but the secret Springs by which they were moved; here we have the Rise and Growth of the several Factions, the Steps that they made, the Intrigues they managed, with most wise and judicious Remarks u. on them, which plainly denote the Author to be an excellent *Statesman*, of a clear and penetrating Judgment, and well vers'd in the Affairs he wrote on; especially if we add these Matters personally relating to the King; which

which ( considering his various Fortunes and Removes, and particularly after *Naveshy-Fight*, and his Removal to the *Scots*, and from thence to *Holmby* ) I question whether any one single Man in *England* could have given, not only such an Account, but any clear Account at all. The Myſtery of his going to the *Scots* is plainly laid open in that Chapter of *his leaving Oxford*, and going to the *Scots*, wherein are his Majesty's Reasons for ſo doing. And in the next Chapter are as plainly inſinuated the Propoſals that were made to him of *Sacrilege*, and the Attempts made upon him to *gain his Conſent againſt his Conſcience*, &c. The Truth is, all the *Meditations* are wear'd into a Form of Devotion, and ſo they do admirably expreſs the Piety and Goodneſs of the Compiler: but they are withal Hiſtorical, and give the beſt Account of the Myſtery of Iniquity that then reigned, together with a more exact Judgment concerning the ſeveral Particulars, than is yet extant in any other Book. All which do very well agree with the Character of King *Charles* the Firſt. But how to reconcile them to Dr. *Gauden's* Character, is ( I think ) an inſuperable Difficulty. For as to his Faculty at Hiſtory, and how judicious a Compiler he was, we have ( as far as I know ) but one ſingle Inſtance, and that is the Life of Mr. *Hooker*, wrote by him, and prefix'd to one Edition of the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and which ( to ſay no more ) is certainly the moſt injudicious Hiſtory of a Man's Life that ever was written. There are ſo many palpable Miſtakes and Falſhoods ſo very little to any purpoſe of Hiſtory, ſo lean, jejune and empty Accounts of the Man, whoſe Life he undertook, that it plainly betrays a Defect in every neceſſary Qualification of an Hiſtorian; and it is written without Care, or Diligence, or Judgment. But I had rather leave this to the Readers own Eyes, than extend it further; and if he pleaſe to compare this Book and that Life together, let him judge for himſelf, and if, after that, he can poſſibly believe they have both one and the ſame Author, he is abandoned to the utmoſt degree of Baſineſs and Credulity, and may believe any thing in the World.

3. Some Particulars of the Subject Matter. And theſe I ſhall mention are ſuch things as could only be known to the King himſelf, and conſequently could have no Author but him.

As 1. His ſecret Intentions.

2. The Matters of his own Conſcience.

1. His ſecret Intentions. Theſe are expreſſed all over the Book, I ſhall only ſelect two or three Paſſages, which contain not only his ſecret Intentions, but his Appeals to Heaven for the

Truth

Truth of them. In the Chapter on the Insolency of the Tumults, --God who is my sole Judge, is my Witness in Heaven, that I never had any Thoughts of going from my House at White-Hall, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter. And in that Chapter Upon his Retirement from Westminster, I may in the Truth and Uprightness of my Heart, protest before God and Men, that I never willfully opposed or denied any thing that was in a fair way, &c. And again in the Prayer; Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place in which thou hast set me, and whereto the Affairs of my Kingdom at present did call me. And upon the Lifting and Raising of Armies, God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. And upon the Troubles and Rebellion in Ireland, If I have desired or delighted in the woful days of my Kingdom's Calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these Bloody Distractions, shew let thy Hand be against me, and my Father's House. And many others of the like nature, and which, I think, I shall not need to make any Remarks upon, only desire the Reader to tell me, whether he thinks these are the Expressions of King Charles, or of Dr. Gauden, or whether he can believe that Dr. Gauden durst make such Appeals and Imprecations upon Fictions and Forgeries? If he does believe that Dr. Gauden durst do this, I am certain he can believe nothing that Dr. Gauden asserts, nor can he believe Dr. Gauden if he should appeal to Heaven, and imprecate the Divine Vengeance concerning the Truth of his being the Author of this Book. For he that can appeal and imprecate upon one Forgery, may do so upon a hundred.

2. The next thing I have to observe, is a Matter relating to the King's Conscience, and of a high Nature. 'Tis in the Case of the Earl of Strafford, where the King plainly charges himself as guilty of his Blood, by giving his Consent to that Bill which took away his Life. In that Chapter upon the Earl of Strafford's Death, the King saith, *He preferred the outward Peace of his Kingdoms, before that inward exactness of Conscience before God.* And adds, *I am so far from excusing or denying that Compliance on my part (for plenary Consent it was not) to his Destruction, whom, in my Judgment, I thought not, by any clear Law, Guilty of Death; that I never bore any Touch of Conscience with greater Regret, &c.* Again, *It is a sad Exchange to wound a Man's own Conscience, thereby to salve State-Sores.* And speaks of his own Guilt in this manner, *Being in my Soul so fully conscious; these Judgments God hath*  

*pleased*

pleased to send upon me are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his Mercy hath sanctified so to me, as to make me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to me.) And the King adds, that nothing more fortified his Resolutions against all these Opportunities to gain his consent to Acts wherein his Conscience was unsatisfied, than the sharp Touches he had for what passed him in my Lord Strafford's Business. Further yet the King saith, That he was better assured of his Guiltlesness than any Man living could be. Again, this Tenderneſs and regret I find in my Soul for having had any Hand (and that unwillingly God knows) in shedding one Man's Blood unjustly. And in the Prayer are these Expressions: But thou, O God of infinite Mercies, forgive me that Act of sinful Compliance, which hath greater Aggravations upon me than any Man. — Deliver me from Blood-guiltyness, O God. — Against thee have I sinned — for thou sawest the Contradiction between my Heart and my Hand — while I was persuaded by shedding one Man's Blood to prevent After-trouble, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy Troubles. And now I would ask any Man living, whether he thinks these are the Expressions of Dr. Gauden? whether Doctor Gauden did, or possibly could know the inward State of the King's Conscience? or if he did, whether he would in this manner, publicly, and in Print, have charged the King in downright Terms with acting against his Conscience, and in the Case of Blood? or finally, whether any Man, besides the King himself, would, or indeed could have aggravated his Guilt in such a manner, That he was better assured of my Lord of Strafford's Guiltlesness than any Man living could be. That his sinful Compliance had greater Aggravations upon him than any Man. That the Calamities upon him and upon his Kingdoms were upon the score of that among other sins? These are evidently the bearings of a sincere, and generous Repentance, and plainly shew that the King was not ashamed to give Glory to God, by a frank and open Confession of his Faults, with all their aggravating Circumstances. But my Business is not to vindicate the King's Virtue and Piety, which does not need it, but to shew that he was the Author of this Book. And which these Expressions do very convincingly, and beyond contradiction, and that no other Man could be the Author. And if after this any Man can believe, that these are Fictions and Chimera's made to the King's Hand, and not proceeding from the Heart of a penitent Prince himself, under the deep and  

painful

painful sense of Guilt, it is high time to leave disputing and offering any more Reasons to them whom no Reason will convince, nor Truth satisfy.

And thus I have done, with what I have at present to say, in this Controversie, and hope it may tend to the satisfaction of unbiased and unprejudiced Men. I confess a great deal more might be said, especially in the latter part, and with respect to the *intrinsic proof*. The Book it self affords many Arguments, and of equal force with these, which convincingly evidence that the King, and the King only was the Author of it; but I thought it sufficient to point out these few, which may serve for a Handle to any judicious Reader to observe many others of the same Weight and Importance.

I know but of one Objection more, and that respects a Prayer added to some Editions of the King's Book, as used by the King, and said to be taken out of a Romance, &c. Now, altho I know no manner of harm in this, and the Objection is plainly peevish and querulous; for why may not a Man use good Expressions in his Prayers, let them be borrowed from whom they will, as well as a good Sentence out of a Heathen Writer, and which was never any Blemish, tho on the most pious Occasions, yet there is great reason to believe, that the King did never make use of it, for that it is not found in the *First*, nor in several other the most early Editions of this Book. And for the Readers satisfaction in this Point, I have here subjoin'd a Catalogue of the several Editions of it, both without and with the Prayers, Collected with great Care and Industry, by Mr. Keeble at the *Turkey-Head* in *Fleet-street*; and for preventing any Mistake, he hath with great Exactness given the Size of each Volume, the Time of Printing, the Number of the Pages that the Contents consist of, and the Number of the Pages of the Book it self, when there were any such. And in which it is observable, that there are no less than Twenty six Editions without the Prayers, and Sixteen of them Printed 1648.





*An Account of the several Impressions, or Editions of King CHARLES the Martyr's most Excellent Book, Intituled ΕΙΧΩΝ ΒΑΘΥΛΟΧΗ, that were Printed without the Prayers at the End.*

THE First Impression in Octavo, Printed 1648, last Page 269, Contents Two Leaves.

The 2d. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. last pag. 268. Cont. 3 Leaves.

The 3d. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. last p. 268. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 4th Imp. 8°. Prin. in R. M. 1648 last p. 268. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 5th. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. last p. 270. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 6th Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. with only the Lady Elizabeth's Relation.

The 7th. Imp. in 8°. Print. 1648. the last p. 242.

The 8th. Imp. 8°. Print. 1648. last p. 302. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 9th. Imp. in Twelves, Print. 1648. last. p. 187. Cont. the last Page.

The 10th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1648. last p. 164. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 11th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1648. last p. 187. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 12th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1648. last p. 225. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 13th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1648. last p. 269. Cont. 3 Leaves.

The 14th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1648. last p. 269. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 15th. Imp. in 24°. Printed 1648. last p. 341. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 16th. Imp. in 24°. Print. 1648. no Figures, Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 17th. Imp. in 8°. Print. 1649. last p. 304. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 18th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. last p. 264. with Epitaphs.

The 19th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. last p. 195. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 20th. Imp. in 12°. Print. in 1649. ( in Latin ) last p. 272. with Apothegms.

The 21st. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. ( Latin ) last p. 272. not the same.

The 22d. Imp. in 12°. with the Works Print. 1649. last p. 188

The 23d. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. ( Latin ) last p. 272. not the same.

The 24th. Imp. in 12°. Printed ( Latin ) 1649. last p. 258.

The 25th. Imp. in 24°. Printed at the Hague by Sam. Brown, 1649. last p. 318. Cont. 14.

The 26th. Imp. in 8°. Print. 1681. last page 256. Cont. 1 Leaf.

*The*

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